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ABSTRACT

Nigeria's Western Region established a very early, ambitious, original education policy when self-government began in 1952, adopting the African nationalist wisdom that education could spearhead a development strategy for genuine independence. Much of this paper analyzes the philosophy and recounts the implementation of this comprehensive, indigenously focused program. Special retrospective emphasis is accorded its chief architect Stephen Awokoya, regional Minister of Education, 1952-1956, whom scholars of African education and development have neglected, and the similarly neglected features which his policy incorporated alongside its best known detail, free universal primary education. The paper then reviews prominent Africanist literature (Foster, Abernethy, Moumouni, Amin, Peel) which since 1960 questions the basic assumption equating education with development, on grounds of performance and cost. Awokoya and his Western Region legacy is assessed from this critical perspective, thus offering comparison of a pioneer African educational policy with current realities. (Author)

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S.O. Awokoya and Nigeria's Western Region, 1952-1985: A Key Source for Africa's Policy Dilemma over Education and Development.

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S. O. Awokoya and Nigeria's Western Region, 1952-1985:
A Key Source for Africa's Policy Dilemma over Education and Development.

> The Federal Government of Nigeria has adopted education as an instrument par excellence for effecting national development . . . it is . . . the greatest investment that the nation can make for the quick development of its economic, political, sociological and human resources. (Nigeria's National Policy on Education, 1977)
>
> What education for what development? (Samir Amin, Prospects, 1975)
>
> What will they do? Where will they go? (New Nigerian, January 24, 1985, on news that Sokoto State proposes free secondary education for women)

The deaths of Stephen Awokoya and Sanya Onabamiro early in 1985 removed two architects of education from the Yoruba region of western Nigeria, where they fashioned sub-Saharan Africa's most ambitious program for the development of formal schooling during the independence generation following World War II. Three decades have passed since the formative years of Awokoya's tenure as the Western

ABSTRACT

Nigeria's Western Region established a very early, ambitious, original education policy when self-government began in 1952, adopting the African nationalist wisdom that education could spearhead a development strategy for genuine independence. Much of this paper analyzes the philosophy and recounts the implementation of this comprehensive, indigenously focussed program. Special retrospective emphasis is accorded its chief architect Stephen Awokoya, regional Minister of Education, 1952-1956, whom scholars of African education and development have neglected, and the similarly neglected features which his policy incorporated alongside its best known detail, free universal primary education. The paper then reviews prominent Africanist literature (Foster, Abernethy, Moumouni, Amin, Peel) which since 1960 questions that basic assumption equating education with development, on grounds of performance and cost. Awokoya and his Western Region legacy are assessed from this critical perspective, thus offering comparison of a pioneer African educational policy with current realities.

Region Minister of Education gave the emergent public sector of education there an indigenous, experimental character that still remains distinctive. It is two decades since Onabamiro, like Awokoya a native of the town of Ijebu and one of his successors in the ministry, made the scheme comprehensive by creating the University of Ife, designed in many respects to Awokoya's specifications. Since then, scrutiny of their work and of similar efforts by others who followed their lead, vesting Africa's hopes for economic productivity and other developmental goals in the provision of mass public education, has created a literature profoundly skeptical of the whole enterprise. We have, for example, Samir Amin's article shaped by the question prefaced here: "What education for what development?" Onabamiro himself turned hostile in his later career toward fundamental aspects of Awokoya's policy.[1]

We are concerned here to trace that policy from its source and through its development, then to appraise its legacy. Awokoya was a creative pioneer, an original, important far beyond his limited reputation, credited or discredited, as author of his regional government's 1952 scheme for universal primary education (UPE). His initiatives for western Nigeria went much farther than that proposal. They entailed a comprehensive philosophy of indigenous development, found support and stirred controversy among those of his own generation like Onabamiro, and their juniors, and became influential in the wider setting of federal Nigeria's educational policy.

This retrospective analysis will therefore draw fresh attention to Awokoya, and then use him to focus commentary on the current

debate about the relationship between education and development which resonates throughout Africa in terms which his career, despite its relative anonymity, did much to establish.[2]

1. Awokoya's Ministerial Policy, 1952-1956

Awokoya's and the Western Region's breakthrough in educational development, though comprehensive, was not the first of its kind. Nationalist pressure and constitutional revision brought Gold Coast to the stage of internal self-government based on electoral politics in 1951, a year earlier than in Nigeria, so that Kwame Nkrumah's and the Convention People's Party's decisive initiatives in Accra were being implemented as Obafemi Awolowo's and the Action Group's were just gearing up in Ibadan. It is instructive to survey the Gold Coast scheme in order to demonstrate how much farther and more dramatically Awokoya moved, particularly since he travelled there for a few weeks in mid-1951 to get his bearings and prepare for his newly designated Western Region ministerial task; the occasion and timing of the visit were significant.

Nkrumah's Gold Coast commitments as Leader of Government Business included educational transformation. Both Nkrumah's own account and corroborating evidence for the turbulent politics of early 1951 suggested how little time was available for policy deliberations, until the first two weeks of June. This was an interval of travel to the U.S.A. for Nkrumah and Kojo Botsio, his confidant and newly appointed Minister of Education and Social Welfare. The visit was focussed on Nkrumah's reception of an honorary doctorate from Lincoln University where, nearly twenty years earlier, he had begun to develop the thinking now being applied to Gold Coast

experience.[3]

A number of public platforms and quieter moments provided them opportunities to discuss policy and relate Gold Coast needs to their American contacts. Nkruman's role was senior, his remarks and thoughts were clearly dominant and in fact broadly anticipated the language which Awokoya would soon articulate for education in western Nigeria.

But as Awokoya took his Gold Coast soundings, the steps announced to the legislature and public there in late July represented a less than comprehensive translation of thought on the issues of education and development into policy, as a brief review of a representative document from the dawn of African self-government, the "Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1951," will indicate.[4]

This paper declared UPE without fees an immediate governmental objective and anticipated the expansion of post-primary school opportunity in the near future. Botsio's 600 word "Foreword" provided the basic rationale for the massive transfer of funds to this sector of the budget.

> Education is the keystone of a people's life and happiness . . . it must meet the many needs and aspirations of the nation as a whole and it must also care for the individual. It is the policy of the Government to build up as rapidly as possible facilities for sound primary education throughout the Gold Coast and to encourage every parent to ensure that his children benefit from them.[5]

From this primary school foundation, the focus on further education was identified and directly linked to public service and economic development.

> There is an urgent need, also, for much more extensive provision for secondary education . . . We need, also, a great reinforcement of students for the University College and for the Kumasi College of Technology. From these institutions of our own, and from places of learning abroad we look for many men and women trained to the highest level to take leading positions in the whole life of the country. We expect from them devoted service to the betterment of the life of the whole country.
>
> Much stress is now put on the need for a great development of technical and technological education . . . Economic development is a paramount necessity . . . on progress in that sphere depends progress with education and all the other social services and with every amenity and refinement of life.[6]

Three points concluded the preamble: the pivotal role of a rapidly enlarged and professionally committed corps of teachers, the establishment of Local Education Authorities to assist central government and safeguard the representative and democratic character of the new enterprise, and an assurance that the "moral training and religious education" of church and mission provenance would remain in Gold Coast schools despite limitations now to be placed on religious educational foundations and the expectation of their ultimate transfer to secular authority.[7]

This foreword by Botsio took one page; the plan occupied twelve more and was followed by ten pages of statistical and diagrammatic "annexures." It is fair to state that the foreword, extensively quoted above, established the document's strategic and philosophical core. It then turned immediately to implementation. No part of the text subsequently elaborated the nature of the desired character of citizenship, society and economy of the nation which this training was designed to create. Nor did it refer to any more substantive document which did so. Establishing the means for educational

change, the plan, self-contained, proposed no larger ends than the still diffuse, tactically fluid, democratic socialism of the CPP's constitution and manifesto literature.[8]

The plan's conventionality and its philosophic limits were obvious in the opening paragraphs on the primary school, which prescribed "education in the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic for everyday life with the usual complementary learning deemed essential for children in the age group," the basic aim of which "will be to provide a sound foundation for citizenship with permanent literacy in both English and the vernacular."[9] For the post-primary phase, the document outlined the following purposes for the three projected streams of secondary, secondary technical, and (preparatory to these) middle school:

> Schools must be related to the interests and environments of their pupils, and all but the few required to fill positions demanding a high degree of specialist training and education will derive most benefit from a liberal type of course, with a wide range covering the practical as well as the literary aspects of life, rather than from a bookish type of grammar school course.[10]

The document was basically derivative. The colonial structure of education was the point of departure. It was to be modified (e.g., more emphasis on day rather than boarding schools) and it was, especially, to be enlarged (not just made universal at the primary level, but extended spatially from the coast and Ashanti region into the much less educationally developed North), yet the system already in place remained the springboard of this "Accelerated" plan: the inherent limitation of the word was pertinent. Its deficiencies were noted from the start, as exemplified in a

generally favorable early biography of Nkrumah by a close (though later deported) associate who called its planning "slip-shod" and its results "lamentable," and in the closest specialist study which noted its effort "to retain virtually every structural element of colonial education but attempting to provide 'more of everything.'"[11]

To compare Gold Coast's policy, as prelude, with Awokoya's issued for the Western Region of Nigeria one year later in July, 1952, is to transcend the derivative nature of the earlier effort. Awokoya's realm of discourse and design was qualitatively different. Botsio had not fully articulated what may ultimately have been Nkrumah's plan for Gold Coast, but Awokoya seized his chance to formulate an educational vision for western Nigeria.

Awokoya was well prepared to do so. Aged 38 as he took the education portfolio, he had absorbed the widest possible education and related experience available to Nigerians of his time in his own country: as a pioneer student in the mid-1930s at Yaba Higher College, Lagos; as a teacher at St. Andrew's College, Oyo (1937-1943) and Abeokuta Grammar School under the formidable direction of I. O. Ransome-Kuti after the war; as the founding proprietor and principal of Molusi College, Ijebu-Igbo just prior to his ministerial appointment. Awokoya's one sojourn abroad in Great Britain, 1943-1946, earned him the B.Sc. (Honors) from London University and, equally important, immersed him in the community of West African students who linked their education with incipient nationalist politics as the war came to a close and the Labor Party's succession to government spurred hopes for self-government on their return home.

It was a full apprenticeship for Western Region service, at the point when Nigerian constitutional revision under Governor Sir John Macpherson ushered the young, talented, ambitious, impatient men like Awokoya awaiting their opportunity many years, into the modern political world.[12]

The Legislative Assembly elected in 1951 convened at Ibadan with an Action Group working majority January 7, 1952. The first session was preliminary, designed to pass an interim appropriations bill; the second session would be crucial, the occasion for the party's policy and budget statements that would shape the (presumptive) five year legislative term. But the session was informative and requires brief contextual summary on the education issue because of acting Lieutenant-Governor Percy Main's "State of the Region" review, delivered to the Assembly February 18 and to the House of Chiefs March 3.[13] The speech noted the innovations of Macpherson's constitution but conveyed no sense of the impatience within the House of Assembly or the urgency of affairs being discussed there and throughout the region.

The first dozen pages of its official transcript condensed matters of interest in each province and division. Twenty-seven pages then addressed various categories of government affairs for the entire region. True to the form of dominant colonial interest, agriculture took five pages, twice the space of any other item, followed by roughly two pages each on finance, cooperatives (i.e., marketing, farming of cocoa and other crops) and mines. The remaining 40% of this coverage was parcelled principally among "service" as against "business" concerns: education, development, public

works, labor, posts and telegraphs, health, veterinary service. Among these, only development, touching loans for village and road construction, farming, food processing, etc., was allotted nearly two pages.

Education took slightly more than a page to review. Important revisions empowered Native Authorities to establish Education Committees and "to impose rates for education," accompanied by an expression of confidence "that the future of the Primary School System will thus be safeguarded and the way left clear for ordered expansion in the future." As for secondary education, "the demand . . . continues, though fewer frivolous applications are received than before."[14] It is not clear whether frivolity was imputed here to unworthy students, would-be school proprietors, or both; in any case the language reflected "government's" indifference and insensitivity on an issue soon to be pressed to the legislative front line.

What was brewing in the legislature, far beyond the range of Main's recitation, became abundantly clear during the second session of 1952, when on July 25 the Assembly and on August 5 the Chiefs received the new government's policy on education from Awokoya.[15] This paper is widely recognized for its advocacy of free and compulsory UPE, in line with Action Group electoral promises. Commentary, principally David Abernethy's, has always emphasized this particular facet of Awokoya's work. Abernethy's analysis was generally critical because of the political character of the scheme and the difficulties encountered in its implementation stage. Thus, attention has been directed to the document's place in a series of unrealistic, unattainable promises by the Action Group to the Western

Region populace, its reflection of special interest politics on behalf of the large teacher retinue within the party and its leadership, its faulty reliance on imprecise census data and the consequent drop in educational standards as new, ill-prepared teachers and students alike poured into the schools. Precipitous haste and reckless budgeting have been charged. Abernethy's epithet, "welfare politics," damned the policy with faint praise, and his commentary implied regret for the commodity revenue windfall and the timely shift in federal revenue sharing which kept funds in the region and made it possible for UPE to hit the ground running in 1955. There are suggestions that the policy's ripple effect undermined the populace it claimed to benefit, by raising expectations about educational opportunity in the region and ultimately throughout Nigeria that could only be dashed.[16]

But Awokoya's paper, however its merits on UPE are judged, far transcended this specific advocacy. It framed UPE, which was introduced only in the 50th of its 120 paragraphs, in as vigorous, indeed as visionary an analysis of African history and society as any from an emerging government source during the 1950s, and it bears favorable comparison with any produced since.

The opening of a four paragraph preamble closely resembled the Gold Coast document:

> The main purpose of policy for the next few years may be simply stated as one of expansion and re-orientation. This implies an all-out expansion of all types of educational institutions.[17]

There was nothing more remarkable here, or less derivative, than in the Gold Coast paper. But the preamble closed with language which

demonstrated Awokoya's deeper range of concerns:

> With the inauguration of the New Constitution, national yearning for education which has almost become instinctive in the African mind should have full scope for expression . . . Our educational development and destiny for good or for ill is in our hands and will be determined first and foremost by what we consider best for ourselves in the light of what other nations of the world are doing.[18]

Further reflection on the historical grounds of the policy preceded its specific formulation in a passage where Awokoya emphasized West African peoples' isolation from global movements of history over the millenia. He stated the case for "coming into the world heritage of knowledge. It is a legacy which we have missed for ever so long."[19] It is well to note this flavor and the generally temperate nature of the document before moving to a detailed analysis of its text which will stress its distinctly indigenous character, in order to avoid any suspicion of self-absorbed isolation as its guiding principle. Indeed, there was very little breast-beating chastisement of foreigners anywhere in the document. Scarcely a word was expended berating slavery and colonialism was cast in a less rhetorically charged, substantively more apposite language than was common among contemporary nationalists (though Awokoya was verbally scathing two days later in the House of Assembly).[20]

The colonial legacy was, nevertheless, Awokoya's first major target. He called its schools an instrument to render the educated African an "interpreter" of British interests, through the civil service and mercantile firms, to the community at large. Education and the colonial economy were then immediately linked:

> Although the curriculum of schools has been broadened and the young man with a School Certificate has had a more or less liberal

> education . . . no demand is placed on his liberal education. He is admirably suited for the social order in which he is expected to help in the transportation of raw materials overseas and assist in the distribution of imported goods which consist of practically every material requirement of the nation.[21]

Concluding the remarks which were preliminary to the central passage on colonial political economy, Awokoya blamed the secondary school curriculum in particular for "frustration which supplies the greatest impetus to national yearning and educational development."[22] He stated the case for indigenous language, art, music and religion to be added, not only to secure a place for local knowledge in the curriculum, but also to restore the community's ethical and religious fabric:

> It will be a national calamity if the great heritage of indigenous socialism is to be swept off by the invasion of agnosticism, atheism or nihilism.[23]

Now came the heart of his critique and his creative force, in paragraphs 16-29, the section which established Awokoya as an original voice on education and development. It was not just the confines of education but, ever more forcefully, the political economy of colonialism that drew his fire. He attacked the presumptive basis of Main's complacent, business as usual address earlier in the year by pointing out that "scientific education and technology has been conceived with a view to keeping Nigeria as an agricultural country, a producer of raw materials" - precisely the disposition of affairs which Main considered fundamental. "Clearly 90% of the population" was selling cheap (including its labor) and buying dear; this must cease to be Nigeria's and Africa's global role.[24]

By paragraph 21, Awokoya was in full cry. The dependency on

imports was pungently illustrated:

> Dead bodies cannot be buried without imported implements

and the vulnerability of the domestic economy was expressed in terms which anticipated enduring facts of Nigerian life:

> If the commercial firms cease to import vehicles into Nigeria today, life will come to a standstill in three months, tyres and tubes will be irreplaceable and damaged vehicle parts will reduce us to complete immobility.[25]

Paragraph 22 recapitulated, then advanced the theme of "Comprehensive economic development": education must be geared to "remove this absolute dependence on the economic fortunes of other countries" and to provide for the basic necessities and dignities of life. These were, in order, food, shelter, health, clothing, transport and communication, the enrichment of leisure, the development of mind and soul, and commercial studies.[26] These are among the primary touchstones of development, as it has since been voluminously defined, to which Awokoya meant to link education. Their centrality to the document is accentuated by their virtually exact repetition in paragraph 78 under the rubric of the courses making up the technical school curriculum as well as the general program, and by Awokoya's enumeration of all but one of them in remarks to the House on July 30.[27] His practical touch surfaced in paragraphs 21 and 22, where he noted that the paper and print processing which could articulate domestic needs remained as externally controlled as the education they purveyed, and must likewise be indigenized. Paragraph 23 summarized the argument thus far:

> Industrialization cannot properly be initiated or maintained unless the educational machinery is geared up to supply the needs of industry.[28]

Three paragraphs, 24-26, then rebutted Main's claim that "a moment's reflection brings realisation of the profound changes in the political structure of the Region and of the country . . . in the past year." Focussing on education, Awokoya praised the direction of colonial policy toward self government since 1947, but made clear the source of decisions taken, at Whitehall, not in Nigeria. The Colonial Office had then declared African education to be "an instrument of change," but Awokoya declared a different character of change to be at work in Nigeria.[29] The key here was the conceptual difference between these British initiatives and Nigerian intentions. Two sources and scales of change were at work, irreconcilably distant. Paragraph 26 concluded by welcoming the transfer of initiative from Whitehall to an elected House of Assembly in Western Nigeria and served notice of intent for its full utilization.

The critical mass of Awokoya's paper concluded with paragraphs 27-29. The language was not only theoretically fitting as a summation to the arguments previously sustained; it was rhetorically suggestive of more elaborate but scarcely more searching argumentation ever since. During a century of colonialism, "National self-reliance has suffered." Today:

> Self-reliance has now to be cultivated and nurtured. A re-orientation of educational policy is called for . . . designed to enhance every aspect of our economic well-being. We are no longer to occupy the periphery of British economic enterprise, we are to occupy the centre of the picture . . . Secondly, the educational services must enable us to man the machinery of the state . . . the exigencies of modern life makes (sic) it imperative that we must be able to control larger units. The art of government must be learnt. Men and women must be produced who can hold their own anywhere in the world. They must know the intricacies of the mechanism of the modern state.[30]

By this fusion of an analysis of colonialism and an outline of an educational strategy consistent with national goals, Awokoya offered, in roughly 5000 words, a comprehensive scheme for development which anticipated most of the debate about education's role in development which has since been generated, and outlined many of the details that subsequent analysts and planners have utilized.

These details were mustered through the remaining 90 paragraphs and the statistical and budgetary appendices. The centerpiece was the proposal beginning at paragraph 50 to enroll the 2/3 of the potential primary school age population (reckoned at 1,146,000) not yet receiving formal education, at the rate of 150,000 per year into Class 1, for a tuition-free six year course, starting January 1955. This would achieve UPE within a decade (assuming the validity of census figures - a mistake, as it turned out).

As stated earlier, the pros and cons of the UPE plan's motivations and specifications, especially their "crash" implementation, have been thoroughly canvassed in reviews of the latter 13,000 words of the document. This focus on UPE and its infrastructural and cost details has dominated analysis to the neglect of the materials which continued throughout even this latter part of the document to articulate a broader philosophy of education. Briefly anticipated in paragraphs 8, 14, 15 and 22, the need to balance the world's educational heritage with Africa's own was focussed in paragraph 31. Though not fleshed out and viewed more comparatively than sui generis, a preliminary case for African Studies emerged, locally oriented, to be made part of the primary school syllabus. The rationale for African Studies was fashioned comprehensively in para-

graph 34:

> Up till now only people from other lands have devoted a great deal of time and energy to the study of [Africa] . . . The new age requires that we too should begin to put on record the achievements of the past, the changing circumstances of the present and what we want for the future . . . Only thus can there be a true intellectual awakening and a promotion of a growing and living culture.[31]

And again from paragraph 15, though sketchily, another passage demonstrated sensitivity to the emerging issue of mother-tongue language, albeit not apparently as medium of instruction:

> Progressive elements are, however, beginning to wonder whether any education that does not endeavor to proceed with a simultaneous development of our language can be regarded as properly conceived from a long term point of view.[32]

Likewise, paragraphs 36 and 38 addressed mass and adult education as a necessary complement if conventional education for the young were to take social root, and this topic was resumed, paragraphs 86-93, with an instrumental rationale, as follows:

> far-reaching economic and political development cannot take place unless the masses of the people are literate and educated . . . adult education is most essential . . . when the education of all children is made impossible because of ignorance of the adult, it is not an unwise policy to tackle the education of adults to such an extent that it would be useful in the promotion of universal education and not constitute a stumbling block in the way of progress.[33]

There followed a statistical review deriding the historical status of adult education, £5000 expended for an adult population of 5,000,000, but which was now to receive £25,000 a year through 1959. Within four years a substantial program was in place, judging by material describing a fifth annual adult education workshop held in

1956, just after Awokoya resigned from the ministry and his Assembly seat. By that year's end, primers for adult literacy in all the region's nine indigenous "occupational" languages were expected to be in print, most local government agencies had adult education schemes which the ministry and community self-help financed, and the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at University College Ibadan was offering a training and leadership program. Night classes in community centers were the major force and the efforts of field workers were publicized through the press, radio, cinema, and speaking vans. A craft production center for domestic use and retail sales had emerged in one town, and another village's adult education initiative had built a well and community hall.[34]

Another theme which has since become familiar was the need, specified in paragraph 73, that "special teachers be recruited into the secondary schools to teach English," reinforced in paragraph 98 by a call for research into how it should be done, wisdom which a multitude of subsequent studies confirm for the primary school as well. There was also a section on the psychologically and physically disadvantaged, and the begging community, as potential recipients of useful education.[35]

The foregoing sounds conventional; it is in fact the most comprehensive source for the thought and the language which established the conventions. A major document in its own time, Awokoya's paper still registers convincingly from the perspective of the development literature which has proliferated since 1952. Here explicitly, there implicitly, Awokoya touched most of the agenda issues which later became current: a comprehensive social vision

for education to articulate and implement; the dependency syndrome; self-reliance in economy and statecraft; the need for curricular synthesis of the global and indigenous cultures, with the latter as the child's educational springboard; the need to launch literacy (though not yet life-long) education for adults. Awokoya wanted fundamentally to alter the basis of the schooling experience. A human resource approach to education emerged (neither as pragmatic nor as inhibiting as the "manpower" policy approach just on the horizon), exemplified by the place of science, technology and African culture throughout the curriculum, to be supported by interdisciplinary research. Awokoya's policy was a catalyst for the African life and work skills awaiting mobilization.

There were, doubtless, gaps in the text, perspective or emphases which more recent work has addressed. Awokoya's was a traditional educator's world of books, pamphlets, newspapers (especially for adults, in the vernacular), with but a trace of audio-visual aids and nothing of radio, cinema or mobile education. No gadgetry for western Nigeria, 1952, and an assumption that the schoolroom environment would remain a constant, however the curriculum might change, informed his text. Though UPE greatly increased the number of schools throughout Yorubaland, especially in rural settings, and productivity was at the heart of his reforms, we see a schoolmaster in the standard sense at work in Awokoya. He did not clearly anticipate the rural youngster's exodus, the dimensions of the school-leaver drift, or the continuing bias against manual labor which have since been recognized and tackled, for example, through the effort to integrate school with village life in rural brigades

and folk colleges. This being said, Awokoya's schoolroom was surely designed for African development, not European discipline - and he was a sufficiently modern schoolmaster so that the word "discipline" was in fact not used in his paper, either in its conventional sense relating to order in the classroom or in its sense denoting academic specialization.

The education of females provides another issue for the comparison of Awokoya's and later development education schemes. An early passage noted the glaring injustice of a nearly 4:1 male dominant ratio in school enrollment, and a gender-neutral philosophy informed paragraph 37 on women's education:

> the proper atmosphere for educational, political and economic advancement cannot be created unless women receive education comparable in standard to men[36]

The text in many places manifested recognition of the problem. He advocated domestic science centers for the region's expanded system and gave them a separate budget line, and specified separate senior primary and secondary schools for girls as well as institutions for the "special education" of women as distinct from men.[37] The point of view is hard to define, for a more domestic than public perception of women's roles directed Awokoya's support of levelled (though not yet equal) educational opportunity. It is fair, without scanting Awokoya, to suggest that a more auxiliary function characterized his views of female than of adult education.

There was one element of Awokoya's design that most obviously fell short of comprehensive coverage in terms of the later framework. He clearly linked his main arena of policy, primary education, with the pupils' advance to a variety of secondary levels of

education - general, vocational, technical, teacher training. Post-secondary education, however, he was content to leave to foreign initiative, at least during the period of policy planning and action which the five-year life of this recently-created legislature could encompass. Indeed, the document's penultimate paragraph returned to its first substantive theme, the world heritage of learning and the Yoruba's historic deprivation which must be overcome.

> The English-speaking world has been the section of the world with which this country has been in ideological contact for a long time. . . [its] universities will for many more years remain still the fountains from which our youths can drink deep from the treasures of the ages[38]

Higher education remained a matter for liaison and placement of students with overseas universities and the Federal Government of Nigeria's fledgling University College, Ibadan, and proposed Colleges of Arts, Sciences and Technology in other regions of the country, which were conceded these fields for the moment.

Awokoya did, however, look backward at the "been-to" and forward to the "brain drain" among advanced students:

> The frustration which follows training overseas is most unpleasant for those who experience it . . . in sheer disgust a few have gone back to Europe or America to live there for the rest of their lives. A few remain to face the music . . . and soon they become so frustrated that they either turn violently political or bark and bite at everything.[39]

But, as we shall now see, once Awokoya's foundations for the new school system were operative, the next major phase of Western Region educational initiative directly and comprehensively incorporated

higher education so as to create a full cycle of indigenous opportunity, though by no means easily or without controversy.

2. Awokoya's Legacy, 1960-1985

We have thus far traced a fundamentally home-grown policy transformation, but events outside the Western Region's direct initiative precipitated its major higher education strategy and brought Onabamiro center stage. The Federal Government in 1959, eyeing independence, commissioned a panel chaired by Sir Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, Cambridge, to recommend a national post-secondary education policy. At the same time, Professor Frederick Harbison of Princeton was reviewing manpower training needs for the 1960s in a major research effort linked to Ashby's. Their simultaneous work became enormously influential when Ashby's report was released a few weeks before independence was formally attained, October 1, 1960.

Because it contrasted so markedly with the indigenous educational channels we are concerned with here, a few words about the Ashby Commission's origin and findings are necessary; although Ashby's work developed beyond the Western Region provenance of this study, it prompted a significant local response. The commission was a Carnegie Corporation product.[40] An Anglo-American educators' consortium, mobilized by Carnegie, framed it at the Greenbrier Hotel, White Sulphur Springs, in 1958 and sprung it on Nigerians in 1959. The commission shielded Nigeria's emerging politicians and educators from any influence on, indeed any real knowledge of, its work. Three Nigerians joined three British and American members; Onabamiro enters our account here, for he was the Western Region's representative. It was made clear that they should be "sufficiently

popular in their respective regions to assure acceptance of the Commission's findings and recommendations."[41] Alan Pifer, head of Carnegie, briefed his planning associates in early 1959 correspondence as follows:

> We are most anxious for the survey to be fully regarded in Nigeria as a Nigerian affair . . . any reference to the Greenbrier recommendation ought to be avoided. Anything that can be said to enhance public faith in the absolute independence and integrity of the Commission will be important.[42]

Ashby's report, released on the eve of independence, recommended a recognizably British map for primary and secondary education with an American land-grant university graft at the post-secondary level.

But an important streak of Western Region independence had by then emerged. A month before Ashby's findings went public, Onabamiro resigned, citing "recommendations prejudicial to the interests and legitimate aspirations of the Western Region."[43] One reason for his defection was Ashby's higher education strategy to make regional Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology in Nigeria's north and east full-fledged universities, to create a new university in Lagos, but to merge the west's regional college facility with University College, Ibadan (UCI) as the new University of Ibadan. These universities were to assume "national character," with student enrollment policies to match, on grounds of the danger posed by ethnic particularism. The concern was legitimate, but it is clear from Ashby's planning history that emerging universities like Ibadan were preferred for their international as well as national character, their accessibility as well as their track record and promise.

Ashby's plan would have left the west without its own univer-

sity (Lagos must be considered a metropolitan Nigerian, not a regional site). It is surprising that the region was caught short, given its neavy attention to education since Awokoya's emergence; it may have been a case of uninspired leadership by Ayodele Okusaga and J. A. Ola Odebiyi in the ministry between Awokoya's resignation in 1956 and Onabamiro's assumption of the education portfolio after he left the Ashby Commission and took his place in September in the House of Assembly for the Action Group. The most recent regional throne speech March 14, 1960 had contained no plans for a Western Region university in the shortterm future, and the 1960-65 Development Plan, tabled in November 1959, was equally silent on the issue for that policy period.

Onabamiro, an eminent parasitologist and UCI faculty member for a decade, now working with the experience from the Ashby Commission, wasted no remedial time. He prepared a white paper on the establishment of a Western Nigerian university for the Assembly's new session, which opened November 22.[44] It began by affirming the national, indeed the African and global purpose of the university. But when all was said and done, there were highly pragmatic reasons for Onabamiro's defection from Ashby and attention to this scheme, more important than the region's developmental or cultural tendencies. Yoruba student candidates were already unable to secure sufficient places at Ibadan and Nsukka, Ashby's added national universities would not help much, and the current shortfall of opportunity would intensify if nothing were done about the bottleneck expected by 1965 from the UPE program's student overflow.

This urgent need was to be met by an institution planned not

only to solve this admissions crisis but also, and not incidentally, to satisfy distinctively Yoruba specifications in terms of the academic and cultural frameworks. Onabamiro nimself chaired a planning committee, 59 strong, virtually all Yoruba, some of whom visited Brazil, Mexico, the U.S.A., and Israel before its report was issued, undated but at some point toward the middle of 1961.[45] It ran contrary in many ways to Ashby's. Rather, it drew on Awokoya's reasoning nine years earlier with respect to pre-university schooling and added touches which may be said to have repatriated that part of his 1952 scheme for which Awokoya had not yet been prepared to supply an indigenous framework.

The 1961 document's commentary on UCI, for instance, was notably critical, significantly so because Ashby's report took UCI as a model institution, and also because this Onabamiro panel included 26 others (beside its chair) who at that time held UCI appointments. Awokoya, it will be recalled, nad been content in 1952 not to challenge Ibadan as a higher education focus. The 1952 paper praised UCI for its research schemes with "one common denominator - to tackle problems that are of Nigerian interest," and looked for technical education in the Western Region to the new, second establishment at Ibadan, one of the three branches of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology (which, as noted above, were fully active by 1960 and, except for the Western Region's, recommended for full university status by Ashby).[46] Now, pointedly, UCI was portrayed as a kind of stuffy dowager in order to emphasize the proposed new regional university's innovative character. The panel (whose UCI members must have been restless) quoted

Thomas Hodgkin's remark that UCI's Senate was a "professional junta," and included criticism of its British staff recruitment policy. UCI's roots in a sixth form-honors curriculum favoring specialization, against recommendations made by its own first panel of visitation (1952) that it move towards a "General Degree in Arts and Sciences," were now contrasted invidiously to a plan for the new university which would fashion engaged generalists through an interdisciplinary mode of learning. The models cited were Harvard College and (more appropriately?) the University of Keele.[47]

Certain features urged for curricular development conveyed the planning design: evening classes, short "sandwich" courses, professional training of immediate societal relevance on the functional side; an Institute of African Studies and Faculties of Music and Fine Arts to foster the cultural heritage, with a Yoruba focus. One can discern complements to the curricular design in governance recommendations. Council (recalling Hodgkin) should include representatives of the lay community, the faculty's academic governance channels should be open to junior rank appointees, and the limit of one professor per department should be removed. There were also informal flourishes. Students should serve at their meal tables, clean their own rooms, work parttime to learn self-reliance. The faculty's ceremonial costume should resemble the Yoruba agbada.[48]

Not to exhaust its details, and repeating the primary case for the new university as a release for bottlenecked admissions, this report represented the views of roughly 55 Yorubas, with some presumptive reasons to differ along an Ibadan-new school cleavage. They endorsed a document with distinctively local needs and local

culture in its sinews, reminiscent of Awokoya's thrust but more finely tuned than his paper to the local environment now that higher education was claimed within the region's purview. Once legislation created the university March 23, 1961 and the Nigerian federal government agreed (in Ashby's and his cosmopolitan texture's wake) to turn over an Ibadan site, the region's Premier Samuel Akintola appointed his predecessor, the immensely prestigious Awolowo, to chair the new university's Planning Commission. A revised Development Plan for 1962-68 allocated £5,000,000over five years. Classes started within a year and in 1967 the campus was moved to its permanent location at Ife, the most sacred Yoruba city. Thus, the University of Ife was in place, fifteen years after the Action Group's first electoral victory and Awokoya's groundwork. The Western Region's aspirations for educational repatriation were, on paper, realized.[49]

This final transition was made under greater pressure for increased enrollment and job opportunity than for cultural initiative. Manpower training at all levels had clearly been nigh among Awokoya's several priorities, and the University of Ife's mobilization acknowledged the regional push for economic development and formal sector job-creation - the productivity issue in general. There was simultaneous evidence of a narrower instrumentalism, the Ashby-Harbison influence driving all before it, in a committee formed in December 1960 once the spadework for the university had begun.[50]

Of all the region's education enquiries of that period, this was the smallest in scale and the most strictly channeled. Its

seven members reported their findings in six weeks, and newed a straightforward line of response to Ashby and Harbison and generally to economic factors. That this was so is in one way surprising, given the history of its chairman, Reverend S. A. Banjo. In 1938, as Senior Tutor at St. Andrew's College, Oyo (while Awokoya was a junior member of staff), he had published a quite flaming article in the colonial government's Nigeria Magazine, advocating a comprehensive Yoruba syllabus in the secondary schools.[51] Advancing to the principal's post at St. Luke's Teacher Training College, Ibadan, he had served the Action Group in its early days as an advisor on education. As a legislative backbencher in 1952, he gave perhaps the most emotional and enthusiastic of all responses to the cultural initiatives of Awokoya's plan for education when it was introduced in the House of Assembly:

> One rubs one's eyes whether one is dreaming or awake . . . It is apparent that in Nigeria the pupils are handicapped by one great difficulty - language difficulty: they grapple with two languages, one their indigenous language and the other a foreign language.[52]

He noted that the struggle to master both could prevent students from reaching acceptable standards for secondary school and welcomed Awokoya's early school Yoruba language emphasis, consonant with his own 1938 position.

Yet, his own commission of 1960-61 cast aside this stance, deferring to Ashby and the admonition which Akintola delivered in person at the Banjo panel's first session, "that the Government was absolutely determined to develop the education service of the Region so that it could provide the trained manpower needed to implement its development plans." Accordingly, the panel prefaced its January

report by noting that it "used the Ashby Report to a large extent as a basis for our discussion."[53]

Indeed, little else seems to have been considered, and one wonders what the Ashby defector, Onabamiro, thought of Banjo's recommendations (whatever his premier's charge to the commission). Pervading the report was the narrowly instrumentalist vocabulary of "feed" and "intake" and the shape of an educational pyramid leading toward university or vocational schools where the academic, teacher training, technical and commercial skill banks for the immediate future's development needs would be created. The senior secondary and sixth form levels were closely scrutinized; they remained intact and examinations maintained their familiar, if largely unwritten, role as junction points dominating the system.

A different kind of report was unlikely, given the charge and the immediate influences just cited. But there were features of notable imbalance, given the longer history (including Banjo's own) that we have sketched here. Vocationalism this time far outweighed indigenization, compared to Awokoya's emphasis a decade before. Only once, mentioned early in passing, not examined for its consequences, was concern expressed for "the fact that the Nigerian child had a new second language—English—to cope with, and that slowed down his progress." The Report noted that in the UPE scheme "the child is required to gain permanent literacy in both English and Yoruba," then took for granted that it was the imperfect English, not Yoruba, that needed redressing.[54] It then turned to textbooks for primary schools:

> As textbooks written by Nigerians and based on Nigerian conditions are almost non-existent <u>except</u> in the mother tongue, Nigerians who

> wish to write books should be encouraged to do so.[55]

Quite against the momentum of earlier Yoruba efforts to promote the local language medium of instruction, a "straight for Englisn" approach replaced mother tongue advocacy: textbooks should be written by Nigerians, for Nigerians, in English.

Throughout, there was minimal pedagogic support for an indigenization strategy. There was a nod to the place of the local environment in science books to be used for senior secondary schools, near the apex of the system:

> Science teachers should be encouraged to write books on science with a Nigerian background. Such books will be more useful to young science teachers than the existing books written with British or American backgrounds.[56]

But there was more aptly revealing language about social studies at the very apex, sixth form work, pertinent to indigenization policy's place among general priorities. To prepare students for university level, the Report called for "a few sixth forms not offering specialised science subjects, but offering instead subjects like Economics, British Constitution, English Economic History, Statistics, Public Administration and so on." Then came a general warning about the entire sixth form curriculum as already practiced and now to be modified:

> the courses are rather specialised and of limited scope, and products from sixth forms often show utter ignorance of modern trends.[57]

The remedy prescribed what the Ashby Report, approvingly cited, though out of context, had called "minority time," to be spent on scientific theory, a foreign language other than English, art, music, a variety of crafts, and (the last item) Nigerian languages

and culture. Failing outside the exam structure, these subjects would be not just optional by character but also superfluous by perception. The synopsis of recommendations in the summary of the text on sixth form put it this way:

> "Minority time" should be spent on general education.[58]

Granted the limited funds, the Ashby guidance and the influence of the British model of tight focus in senior secondary schools, the document's main stream could have afforded little comfort for those who advocated a place for Yoruba initiative and a less narrowly instrumentalist approach.

The overall balance between the purely instrumental focus and Awokoya's more comprehensive advice within Yoruba educational circles was restored seven years later when in 1968 the military government formed another review commission for education in the (now) Western State. Its charge specified primary education but there was considerable and instructive overlap of coverage between this panel's work and the Banjo Report.[59] The chair was occupied by Professor C. O. Taiwo. He was in London in 1945, an original founder of Egbe Omo Oduduwa, the pan-Yoruba culture society which soon thereafter became the Action Group, and by 1968 was Provost of the College of Education at the University of Lagos. Equally of interest among the 22 other committee members were two other notable scholar-teachers: Professor A. B. Fafunwa, a prolific historian of African education and by 1968 Dean of the Education Faculty at the University of Ife, and Professor A. Ogunsheye, trained as an economist at the London School of Economics and an Egbe activist while there, a militant socialist who remained outside Action Group poli-

tics in the 1950s, and who was by 1968 Dean of Ibadan's Faculty of Education, following a period as Director of Extra-Mural Studies there.

In 1961, advanced manpower needs had been termed the crux of the educational matter, but the 1968 commission began by noting "the magnitude of unemployment among primary school leavers," and called for fresh examination of the primary education system with respect to "the adequacy of the curriculum, the school leaving age and the place of education within the framework of general planning for social and economic development." Education for the local environment and modern African nation-state citizenship claimed a far more distinctive place than in the Banjo Report's emphasis on educational ladder-scaling for particular skills, and the latter emphasis was criticized for its grounding in a "pernicious principle," namely "the class origin of the tripartite division of education into elementary, secondary and higher in bourgeois European society," designed for the lower, middle and upper classes respectively.[60]

It then moved directly to a passage on "Aims of Primary Education" and in reviewing previous policy formulations indicated some gaps, including the following points raised in specific discussion of the 1961 report:

> . . . they do not take sufficient account of what permanent literacy for the Yoruba child implies. The Yoruba child must be able to communicate effectively in Yoruba and English, a point which has educational implications for the learner, the teacher, the curriculum and for teaching materials . . . they make no reference to the need to develop those attitudes in the Yoruba child, as a Yoruba child, which would facilitate the modernisation of his society so as to enable it to make the maximum contribution to the progress of Nigeria as a whole.[61]

One sweeping recommendation derived from this critique entailed curriculum reorganization throughout the six-year primary course, in which the most salient point for present purposes was the proposal for Yoruba medium instruction for Classes I-III before the switch to English for Classes IV-VI. Previous designs (whether or not they were practiced) called for at least 10 periods in a 40 period school week to be devoted to the study of English from the outset; now, a rounded curriculum, first taught in Yoruba, without the "straight for English" overtone, was proposed. It is parenthetically worth noting, to divert any suspicion that Yoruba ethno-national insularity was the touchstone of the Taiwo Report, that its Language Arts sector recommended "the introduction of another Nigerian language and oral French; the former in the interest of Nigerian unity and the other in interest of West African entente, where qualified staff, equipment and time are available."[62]

There was certainly an air of redirection throughout this curricular proposal. One passage aligned the map of pedagogy for Social Studies "in the following order: School, home village, town division, province, state, other states, Nigeria and possibly West Africa."[63] The study of mathematics and science was to be similarly grounded in familiar surroundings.

One could ascribe these features to the influence of "Education for Self-Reliance" precepts then gaining currency in Africa. But the better linkage is through, by this time, two decades of Yoruba thought and action so sharply focussed by Awokoya, surfacing once again in this Committee. It contained notables from the education faculty of all three of the region's universities; two of them had

been directly connected with the founding pan-Yoruba association of the 1940s. The indigenous design for education, absent from the Banjo Report, reclaimed its place.

This impulse has remained active, most notably in a comprehensive research project which started soon afterward at Ife, directed by Professor Fafunwa. This continuing Six-Year Primary School Project is meant to test the effects of Yoruba as language of instruction throughout the primary school cycle, with English taught as a second language. It has organized, then compared, classroom groups taught in Yoruba then English, and Yoruba only, as bases of the experiment, with continual adjustment applied to textbooks and teaching methods over the years in order to reduce the chance that methodological factors extraneous to language could neutralize the project's purpose. Fafunwa's interim report explaining the study and some work preliminary to it, published a decade ago, quite thoroughly reflected the viewpoints stressed above, balancing the instrumentalist-general education and the foreign-indigenous emphases. Fragments of his introduction read as follows:

> Many institutions in Africa have not given sufficient attention to African culture in their curriculum . . . The primary school child is expected to think and communicate effectively in the mother tongue within the first two or three years of school before switching to English . . . of the fifty per-cent who remain until the end of the sixth year, many complete the course without being proficient in either.[64]

Early in 1984, a survey of the Project's research findings confirmed that the best learning results were for the Yoruba-only groups in a battery of tests across the range of the syllabus, and there is independent corroboration from the University of Ibadan that Yoruba

as medium of instruction has made mathematics more accessible. Awokoya's policy formulations thirty years ago seem vindicated in ways that could be beneficial in multilingual, multicultural environments far beyond Yorubaland.[65]

3. Internal Criticism of Awokoya

Awokoya was not, however, immune to criticism among the forces he rallied, as his legacy's ramifications unfolded and the Western Region's and Nigeria's troubles mounted. A firm denunciation of the failure of its UPE policy marked the 25th anniversary of the Awokoya paper at the highest level of Nigerian educational governance. It was pronounced by none other than Onabamiro, whose career in Western Region government ended in 1966 when the University of Ife was firmly on track. He returned to higher education for over a decade, then was recalled in 1977 to the Nigerian policy frontline as chair of the federal Implementation Committee for the National Policy on Education, serving in that capacity until his death in 1985. His basic responsibilities were to supervise the transferral, spurred by petroleum revenues, of pre-university education from local and state to federal funding, and to supervise the expansion of UPE as a Nigeria-wide policy in 1976, but he functioned more broadly as a senior advisor to successive administrations. Thus, Onabamiro was called on to evaluate the cumulative Nigerian experience of his generation and (indeed) Awokoya himself, since the latter's role in the federal education civil service had been influential during the late 1950s and early 1960s, after his withdrawal from the Action Group and Western Region affairs.

A prominent appendix to the 1978 report of the Implementation

Committee scrutinized what was now a quarter century experience of UPE and proclaimed it not only deficient in wisdom for the Western Region but also a source of manifold distress as recently applied elsewhere in Nigeria. It cautioned the Federal Military Government that its already announced and long awaited national UPE policy could frustrate its creators and recipients alike if early warnings from the original experience were not heeded.

This 1978 language about UPE was, for its genre, blunt:

> Three major problems confronted the old Western Region . . . Solutions were still being sought when the National Scheme took over the local scheme . . .
> (a) the financial burden;
> (b) the lowering of educational standards; and
> (c) the dilemma of how to utilize the products of the Scheme . . .
> the consumption of as much as 36.9% of the total recurrent budget by one sector of government alone over a continuous period of six years was, of course, an intolerable situation.[66]

The report continued in this vein. UPE itself consumed 68.2% of that regional education budget, leading to reviews instituted as early as 1958 to trim its costs. They did not effect much savings. In 1969, advising the first study of UPE as a potential federal scheme, the (now) Western State Ministry of Education itself had warned the Somade Commission of enquiry that "serious efforts must be made to obtain funds from other sources" than government.[67]

Particularly critical use was made in 1978 of the dropout rate in UPE schools in the rural areas where their proliferation made the shortfall of qualified teachers so acute: "schools sited in villages of up to 700 population had a wastage rate of 84.9%." It was noted, in response to an International Labor Office study, that 67%

of Western Region primary school leavers, 1960-1966, came directly to the employment market from a curriculum that was not job-oriented, yet such knowledge as was received made them socially dissatisfied with the rural districts where they were brought up. Only 1.5% wanted to take up farming, and their parents saw school as an escape from traditional society.[68]

And so the question was posed by Onabamiro's panel: "how long can this process continue without generating a social crisis?" For whereas in 1967 the Western State faced 200,000 primary school leavers per year, Nigeria could face 2.1 million of them by 1982 should the scheme be made national. Even if primary graduates were removed from the employment market through a predicted vastly larger secondary school intake of 40%, 1.3 million would still be searching for jobs. There were lessons, this section concluded, to be learned from UPE, Western Region style.[69]

Was this justified, as a commentary on Awokoya and the line of policy mobilization which we have traced back to the immediate post-war years? And how, given this critique, should we assess this whole undertaking in populist politics? In one clear sense, we are certainly back with Abernethy and his general verdict of budgetary indiscretion and of expectations which far surpassed delivery capacity. Someone, he predicted, would have to remove the debris, for the momentum of UPE had no sound fiscal base when it started and was never likely to create one by itself or its human capital creation. Onabamiro, on this reading, reappeared as a corrective agent, trying to salvage the operation in the wake of excess, not just that caused by imprudent visions but also by the unsustainable economic circum-

stances which fed them: a brief cocoa boom regionally in the early 1950s, a brief petroleum boom federally in the early and mid-1970s.

There is, however, another reading of Awokoyo's UPE initiatives, in light of the larger vision. His Western Region career was apparently cut short by party conflict not entirely attributable to educational matters, restricting his tenure in the ministry to less than five years. Little more than its last year coincided with UPE's actual operation, which started with great ceremony January 17, 1955. To recapitulate the previous analysis, Awokoya's emphases were on primary education and the teacher training to make that possible (admitting, as he did, that the massive enrollment hikes would diminish instructional quality for a time), curricular diversification to fit the region's self-reliant developmental strategy, and adult education for literacy. He did not in 1952 call in grab bag fashion for a simultaneous revolution in secondary education (though it was on his mind for a later effort), and he planned no home-grown higher education scheme. The 1952 strategy was directed at the educational base, not scattered. Awokoya never had the chance to present a second phase that could have sifted the evidence of, say, two years trial and error with phase one. By the time such a measure could have been taken, a less forceful successor held the education portfolio, the Action Group leadership's attention turned to federal politics and the constitutional jockeying prior to independence, and external forces like Ashby and Harbison began to make the running when secondary and post-secondary schooling's time came (all too suddenly) and Onabamiro filled the regional breach.

This is not to argue that Awokoya himself would have been

satisfied to occupy the education ministry for a decade, or that what was articulated in 1952 would have been satisfactory in 1962, or later. We have noted, as one suggestive shortcoming, his schoolmaster's propensity to find the traditional schoolhouse sufficient for all school settings, and Onabamiro must have had this in mind when in 1979 he criticized the Action Group's successor party, Awolowo's Unity Party of Nigeria, for its electoral campaign promises of another massive educational leap forward, with free education at all levels federally:

> Just four walls of a building do not make a school. Schools are not made overnight.

They needed labs, for instance, and Onabamiro "always wanted flawless planning" before such leaps were attempted.[70]

It <u>is</u> to argue that there was not sufficient evidence of the recklessness that has been ascribed or imputed to Awokoya's policy. It is also to suggest that much history has been neglected or rewritten to minimize his contribution to the Western Region's original effort, and to minimize problems that undeniably were latent during his term of responsibility but which others than Awokoya were charged to deal with, and found intractable. It is, further, to suggest that whether UPE be judged a success or failure, or whether the jury is still out, it has become increasingly difficult over thirty years for all policymakers to maintain a clear focus on the relationships between Nigerian education and development. This is so in part because of civil war and so much disturbance and partisanship in regional and federal Nigerian politics. They have produced a turnover in planning "exercises" that Awokoya and Onabamiro must have jointly deplored, despite their differences that were

otherwise quite prominent.

4. Awokoya and the Debate on African Education and Development

There are, however, questions to be raised even more broadly, touching Awokoya's work and legacy. The generosity of vision and the new directions, particularly the vigor of the indigenous roots as a curricular strategy, were notable. But any assessment of Awokoya, to do him and subsequent events justice, must recognize how far his claims reached, creating expectations and expenditures of great magnitude, as reflected in the quotation from Nigeria's 1977 policy statement on education which opens this paper. Voices like his were raised throughout Africa and for a time commanded largely uncritical support. Now that zero-sum (and worse) budget scenarios prevail in the realm of development strategy and revenue allocation, the central issue is raised: is education for development in terms like these possible in Africa? There are well developed lines of analysis and some hard earned experience that suggest not, and argue that the hopes of pioneers were fundamentally unsound. A brief, selective scrutiny of a vast literature will suffice to indicate the critical context of debate.[71]

One argument in its classic form was advanced by Philip Foster and the aforementioned David Abernethy. They refuted the reformulated education's efficacy as a leveling force in society, and even as much of a force for decolonization; their critique thus cut to the heart of the policy intentions. These social scientists, British and American respectively, studied late colonial and early independent experience, Foster in Gold Coast, Abernethy in both Western and Eastern Nigeria.[72] They were concerned to examine the impact of

roughly the first decade of UPE, among other issues. The UPE effort in both environments was stimulated by the post-World War II cash crop revenues (whence the budgets) and urbanization (whence much of the clientele pressure), and the prospects of independence in the 1950s significantly hastened the pace. Formal school systems, expanded by colonial authority, were given "crash program" priority when electoral politics intensified in the early 1950s and brought Awokoya's generation into the policy field.

Foster was quite categorical about the careerist nature of colonial and transitional-era education, as perceived by Africans themselves. He cited 1930s evidence of resistance throughout the Gold Coast's chiefly and commoner elite ranks against British efforts to "Africanize" the course of studies at Achimota and other select schools which catered to local leadership training. An African niche for official, professional and commercial activity on the margins of colonial opportunity was staffed in part by the products of British schooling. These outriders were determined to maintain the overseas character and standards of that education, and to limit access to it. Stratification within Gold Coast's education and the colony's class system, which if not the creation of schools were surely within their custodial charge, persisted despite populist efforts to dislodge them by the expansion of educational opportunity through UPE, announced in 1951 for implementation in January 1952. Foster demonstrated, as the first Nkruman decade closed, how an apparently democratic imperative in education ran afoul of the continued grasp for "authentic" European education, operating despite lethargic economic circumstances that clearly restricted suc-

cess in that search. Larger numbers of schools and pupils, a larger system, accrued, but entailed few departures in educational structure or content and little commensurate increases of opportunity or productivity from the investment of close to 40% of recurrent budget expenditures in formal education throughout the 1950s.[73]

The market force for education never abated; the shelf stock, where it could be maintained, hardly changed. School experience at the expanded secondary and post-secondary levels continued to resemble Britain's, in fact drew closer to it, while a dual character flawed the established six-year primary institutions as well as the new four-year "middle school." These continued to feed the few adepts from their academic track into the secondary schools which now determined social and occupational mobility, and which Ghanaians persistently demanded more of, while simultaneously opening (and often just as quickly closing) threadbare "proprietary" schools to take up the slack for less favored students whom government could not finance. Schools for the most part rejected the vocationally and "citizenship" oriented grafts hastily created for the more marginal students, releasing them ill equipped into an economy quite unable to absorb them and a society more likely to frustrate than to fulfill their aspirations. "The consequences of this 'dual' function have been disastrous," Foster wrote, and many others have connected the declining morale and conduct of the ruling Convention People's Party and its leadership to this among the several disappointments of those years.[74]

Here, much compressed, was Foster's reading of the central issues which took shape in later colonial years:

> formal schooling has status significance which cuts straight across traditional criteria . . . schools were an alien institution in African society irrespective of what they taught. Rather than being an instrument of social consensus they were bound to become instruments of social differentiation . . . While European thought strongly favored the development of 'African' curriculums, African opinion was equally strongly opposed to it . . . In the area of curriculum, certain divergencies had occurred at the primary level . . . Generally, all schools at whatever level had proved remarkably resistant to change and innovation . . . After 1950 a new African government faced the massive task of expanding educational provision while at the same time attempting to eradicate major inequalities as between areas.

But the rock could not, would not, be moved. The instrument of formal education too sharply defined Ghanaian interests and the stakes were too high in an increasingly zero-sum game for reform to "take." From the perspective of the early 1960s:

> expansion has been undertaken . . . but structural and curricular change has been a more difficult problem . . . the overwhelming emphasis [on expansion], often at the expense of other alternatives [reflects] the naive and uncritical belief in the power of education to effect radical transformation in the well-being of the population . . . formal education has been a continuing factor, though not the only factor, leading to the emergence of 'nascent' class structures in West Africa.

Far from providing a bridging structure to lead Ghanaians through the mid-century experience of rapid change, schools widened extant gaps between them, occupationally, regionally, ethnically, and led to Foster's observation that, despite all the trappings of a planning process, it was a story of "unanticipated consequences," very severe indeed.[75]

Roughly the same perspective of interest group, incipient class

analysis informed Abernethy's equally classic work in this genre for southern Nigeria (we concentrate on his Western Region coverage here). The accents resembled Foster's as the 1950s experience unfolded: first, the added weight of numbers and systemic inertia defeated efforts (certainly, through Awokoya, more genuine and persistent than Ghana's) to realign the curricula of schools already operating; then, the widened gap between the claims of the education sector and the economy's capacity to absorb its "literate labor" product; further, a correctly perceived fall in teaching and learning standards during UPE's first years, which compromised its planners and practitioners. As in Ghana, these difficulties encouraged private schools at all levels for those who could afford them, while an additional complication arose from the more sweeping public network of experiments with a larger enrollment and diversity of studies than in Ghana, and the consequent danger of regional bankruptcy by 1960.

The morale problem was acute, as Abernethy indicated more precisely than Foster. Educators and the new political class they substantially led as a particular interest segment within the Action Group were highly visible, so that revenues spent by them or on their behalf at regional and local levels constituted (in Abernethy's term) a classic instance of "welfare politics." The profession suffered in public and self-esteem in the long run as its numbers increased and its salaries (relative to others') declined. As in Ghana, adherence to the colonial legacy was hard to break down. Although modification of curriculum toward local experience as well as a dramatic student increase were discernible at the

primary school level, the egalitarian premise on both counts gave way to stratification at the secondary level and beyond. Formal education remained above all a medium for comparative advantage to its clientele, and the threshold of entry to jobs and careers simply rose to higher forms of certification.[76]

Abernethy remarked on "the absence of trust" in the early 1960s. He concluded his critique, like Foster, by emphasizing wastage of resources, waning of confidence, waxing of tension. The intentions of the "education explosion" were admirable, and some were partially realized: political development, a collectively generating literacy, Africanization in the public service and private sector, opportunities for the very poor, girls, Muslims, all of which "would give the new elite the legitimacy it needed to carry out other aspects of its modernization program."[77] But:

> the educational policies of the 1950s contributed significantly to political decay . . . the economy could neither employ [those educated] nor afford what was in effect a costly social welfare scheme, and the political system lacked the resources to adapt to new demands . . . The drive for equality in access to primary schools made inequality at the secondary school level more difficult to eradicate and more visible to a frustrated populace . . . the schools failed to realize their integrative potential . . . Herein lies the dilemma of popular education: it is both a necessary condition for political development and quite possibly a sufficient condition for political decay . . . no one can guarantee that in one or two decades the positive effects of expansion will clearly outweigh the negative.[78]

For good measure, Abernethy added a factor more starkly worrisome in Nigeria than in Ghana. In the latter case, a nationwide educational policy obtained, even if sectional and ethnic imbalance was rising.

But regionalization in Nigeria's politics altered student recruitment patterns, circumscribing "school tie" friendships at the secondary level that previously tended toward integration. The point was driven home by the civil war. Its outbreak substantially colored Abernethy's conclusions. Beyond Nigeria's obvious North-South cleavage, within the educationally advanced South

> the disintegrative effects of educational expansion seem to outweigh the integrative ones . . . Teachers ceased to be effective vertical integrators and concentrated on venting their own grievances against the government; charges of tribalism and corruption filled the communications channels.

The education explosion, potentially integrative, in fact "contributed despite itself to the underutilization and distortion of that potential."[79]

These two studies belied assumptions like Awokoya's and those of the Nigerian federal policy of 1977 quoted at the outset, by showing how very flawed the experience of precisely the most ambitious education systems in West (and perhaps all Black) Africa had been. Foster's and Abernethy's points of attack were typical of Western, empirical, policy-oriented social science at the time: interest group political behavior and conflict in scarce resource situations; the spectrum of calculation between equilibrium and dysfunction (with, in Foster's case particularly, a suspicion conveyed that conflict was unavoidable: education offered no solutions); the concern for historical cause, contemporary effect and possible future remedy <u>within</u> the institutional boundaries of the community and of the specific group of policy-makers under scrutiny. Common to both these studies of the 1960s was a scholarly detachment

cum good-willed consultancy approach, but they were profoundly skeptical.

Soon thereafter, and recurrently since, the same problems they articulated as pioneers generated analyses from different perspectives, with African voices more and more prominent. It is convenient, representative, and worthwhile, first, to survey and compare two of them whose views were offered virtually side-by-side in UNESCO's education journal Prospects during 1975 by Abdou Moumouni and Samir Amin.[80]

One line of argument, broadly but more intensely focussed than Awokoya's on indigenous experience as the touchstone and medium for formal education, was developed by Moumouni, the physicist from Niger and author in 1964 of what is arguably, after two decades, still the best introductory volume about African education.[81] The perspective was typical of Francophone regions in the few years bracketing 1960, wary of accumulating experience, using a version of Negritude as a hedge against despair and a hope for renewal. Returning in 1975 to the general problems which he had by and large left to others since his 1964 text, and particularly to the course of education taken in those 25 countries now designated the world's poorest, most of them African, he began as follows:

> the situation in education continues to be alarming . . . the battle against illiteracy . . . has already been lost . . . education is expected to have very little, if any, impact on the economic, social and cultural development of the countries concerned . . . there is at present a feeling of deep uneasiness regarding the content and the aims of education

reflected in the new enterprise linking education more directly to work (which Moumouni had joined in the past decade in Guinea's

Ministry of Education and Niger's solar energy program). His diagnosis stated:

> the total disregard of national cultures and languages by present educational systems is the root cause of the situation.[82]

This emphasis reinforced Moumouni's 1964 text, where close to 20% of his material was focussed on this deficiency, in reaction to the total monopoly French African schools, unlike British practice, gave the colonizer's language from the pupil's first day. This material had prepared the ground in 1964 for Moumouni's last chapter, on a "True African Culture Renaissance," where he advocated indigenous languages from the outset of formal schooling as the channels for cultural independence.[83]

Education's endemic dysfunction was thus located in the maintenance of colonial languages as vehicles for instruction, the reversal of which, Moumouni argued as his basis of sustained policy, would reduce the problems of student wastage, the length of time needed in school, the cost of schooling, and the equally (or more) destructive "estrangement from the family and the social environment . . . [and] national culture." Thus, he recommended in 1975 "the complete reorganization of the educational system on the basis of national languages" for instruction from the start, with foreign languages later added as special subjects, in the teeth (as the text pessimistically admitted) of the political impasse of so many dimensions that delayed (and still delays) such policy decisions throughout multi-lingual Africa.[84]

So argued the physicist seasoned in Francophone African work, apparently willing to risk the charge of unilinear prescription for

a highly complex malady. As against the social scientists' micro-analysis of societies split by contending forces of change, with education deemed prominent among the problems, not the solutions, the vision of a potentially harmonious African culture shaped Moumouni's work (which, it is worth noting, was originally developed at the same time as Foster's and Abernethy's). Colonial distortion remained, but he believed that educational wisdom and will to release Africans from "a 'cultural ghetto' of national languages and cultures" by tapping these resources could restore a consensual base for community.[85]

These analyses from Foster, Abernethy and Moumouni, products of the 1960s with Moumouni's carried forward, shared common ground which in one sense kept them from being utter counsels of despair: they documented African circumstances that might still be susceptible to African remedy. As Foster most clearly stated, schools were "alien" and, because central to modern education, their institutional weight had deflected efforts directed to their own transformation and to most proposed alternatives of a less formal character.[86] But the structure and content of education, thus far impervious to developmental modifications, were not considered beyond all redemption through policy channels at the disposal of the African state system in the comptes rendus outlined to this point, no matter the skepticism the writers (and their readers) undoubtedly shared regarding the likelihood of reform.

Voices more typical of the 1970s, from both Africa and elsewhere, narrowed this perceived margin for opportunity in education policy. They were well represented by Amin's article for the same

1975 UNESCO collection as Moumouni's, pungently entitled (as noted above) "What education for what development?" He embellished it for a 1982 volume of International Institute of Educational Planning essays on education and the New International Economic Order.[87] The perspective was neither local nor African but global in scope, shaped by the Egyptian political economist well known for Marxist scholarship directed toward the Maghreb and both Anglophone and Francophone West Africa.

In these brief applications of his thesis on unequal development to education, Amin argued that the specific role and form given education by 19th century capitalism was transferred to colonial dependencies in general. In Europe's time of industrialization, a precapitalist "transparent . . . religious form" of ideology and authority was used to "maintain, reproduce and develop the State and civilization" in which "appropriation of the surplus . . . is . . . perfectly visible." This yielded to capitalist exigency and an "opaque" concealment of the surplus value differential between wages and profit, "clouded" by the complexities of market exchange and the advanced division of labor. The result was the religion of capitalism "i.e., 'economism,' the objectification of 'economic science' as 'laws of nature independent of the social organization.'" Education, Amin argued, reflected substructural change. Thus, primary schools began in 19th century Europe to train the unskilled masses in the disciplines of citizenship (i.e., "civics" replaced religious instruction) and the rudimentary machine skills. In intermediate schools, emphasis turned to training of the bourgeoisie, mainly in 'politicking' and in more technical skills for the potentially

mobile element of the work force. This fresh division of educational labor left the secularized humanist tradition to universities, with science and mathematics displacing the classics and religion. They prepared policy makers, managers, and professionals, fitted out with their new "social and economic laws . . . natural laws extraneous to society itself."[88]

The forms and ideology of capitalism in the colonies worked similarly to erode precapitalist traditions of household, trade (presumably that of both artisans and merchants—Amin's text here was highly compressed), and agencies of authority. A scaled down transfer of Europe's new school system was Africa's inheritance and burden, entailing the social reproduction of education's metropolitan function, the displacement of "transparent" by "opaque" trappings of legitimacy, no longer based only on "economic science" but reinforced by science and technology.[89]

The consequences were as Foster in particular had stressed: the scramble for the level of education which gave an edge within the hierarchy of wages and division of labor imposed; the accelerated growth of education as independence drew near or was achieved—education as commodity fetish; the failure to pay for or justify the newly forced pace of education through the generation of new wealth. Where Amin veered from the arguments sketched above was in his insistence on education as part of "the inequal international division of labor":

> Neither the content of this education nor the quantity of men trained in this way could lead to any autonomous development of society.[90]

Amin stressed metropole-periphery causal analysis and intensified

inequality between developed and developing countries, and between and within the latter, i.e., the "real failure of development." Though he did praise Moumouni's book for its attention to the splintering of African society and the alienation occasioned by western education, his rhetoric was far sharper than Moumouni's, Foster's or Abernethy's when proposing "a self-oriented development strategy and an education radically different from the borrowed model," fashioned on "the needs of the masses . . . egalitarian . . . selfreliant." But given the depth of dependency built into the analysis, one wonders how much independence could arise within the educational sector and how anything less than crisis manifested at "the world level itself" could release the grip: would any indigenous effort work?[91]

Space must be accorded one still more recent reading of education, development and their linkage; it dealt with a Yoruba city-state, Ilesha, which Awokoya's work had touched. Though less polemically phrased than the commentaries just surveyed, it staked out a position more radically different from the entire Foster-Amin spectrum, once its implications are teased out, than any of those writings in comparison with each other. The basic source was J. D. Y. Peel's article "Olaju: A Yoruba Concept of Development" written during his extended research of the 1970s in Yorubaland, en route to his path-breaking monograph on the Ijesha people.[92] There was a disarming premise in Peel's approach to development, that is, the scholarly community's neglect

> of the concepts and theories of development held by its subjects, the peoples of the Third World . . . [and] how these peoples have cast their experience of modern social change . . . What is usually absent is . . . the criteria of judgment, contained in some kind of indigenous social theory, which must underlie any

> action and which therefore cannot be omitted from an adequate explanation of it. These criteria, while responsive to new external demands . . . must themselves antedate any particular new demand--such as, say, the political subordination and sense of cultural inadequacy which befell most African societies when they were colonized in the late nineteenth century

which are precisely the dominant terms of debate regarding education sketched directly above.[93] Against the "mechanistic sociology" and "juggernaut of development studies" which he mistrusted, Peel fashioned an indigenous wedge, linguistically derived from the Ijesha (but also by strong inference the Yoruba-wide) concept of olaju.

Peel's method of study and argument can be summarized as follows. A questionnaire about "change" was put by Yoruba interviewers, in Yoruba language, to a random sample answered by 443 male household heads in Ilesha (the Ijesha capital city). Open-ended, the questions yielded responses with significant repetition of the term olaju (or its derivatives), which became the base of further investigation for its wide variety of meanings. The root meaning of the word is "to open the eyes;" from this Peel extrapolated "'enlightenment,' a social state or process of increased knowledge and awareness, which is a condition of greater effectiveness and prosperity," or, in abbreviated form, a strong Yoruba conviction "about the importance of knowledge to power."[94]

Traditionally, these attributes were fused and concentrated in the person of the king of this distinctly middle rank Ijesha people, whose prosperity depended on the character of relationsnips with more powerful neighbors. Hence, given their sensitive scan of the outside world, Peel found it consistent that the Ijesha word olaju

itself "was first definitely used . . . to refer to the cultural package brought from outside by above all, the missionaries" who first appeared in 1858. That is to say, the source for knowledge and power, i.e., development in general terms, previously a royal (and priestly) accoutrement, was quickly dispersed to commoners who took up practical skills to fashion Ijesha opportunity in the newly expanded dispensation. Significantly, crafts, then farming, then itinerant trade built Ijesha capacities (and capital) long before an "increasingly academic-bureaucratic conception of olaju" emerged as schools gave access to advancement of the classic colonial type after World War I.[95]

"Power . . . defined what should count as knowledge"; the Ijesha, from kings and chiefs through commoner ranks, proved adaptable to travel and a host of new roles and occupations as their land was opened to Europeans, and to Islam as well. Pilgrimage to Mecca as well as trade in Lagos and school in Britain came to count as olaju: "Power and prestige, both worldly and sacred, derived from an external centre." Further to the point of fluidity, Peel noted that "olaju tends to be used relationally rather than absolutely: people are considered to display it in relation to others who have less of it," and there is nothing untoward about hierarchy and stratification as facts of Ijesha life.[96] A community mobilized by its own deprivation and aspirations, long before "education" defined "development," put that education upon its arrival to obvious domestic uses within the arsenal of available resources, and put it to advantage against more materially prosperous neighbors during the run-up to independence.

The subsequent top-heavy "disinvestment" in education was as clear to Peel as to others (he was "melancholy" over the neglect of Abernethy's findings, which he noticed a decade later), but he noted that the Yoruba in general have ("relationally") stayed ahead in Nigeria's contest for scarce resources, which their concept of olaju, internally generated at first but lately trained on imported formal education, has substantially defined.[97] Again, it has proved malleable, forged with a shrewd eye for what works. One of Peel's questions, "What do you think would now most bring progress (ilosiwaju) to Ilesha?" elicited only eleven responses about education out of 443. He judged that Ijeshas have not rejected education but "demand what was always the end of education--prosperity and commercial vitality." This was his general conclusion:

> olaju is not an ultimate value . . . [except] for some of the most committed Christians . . . for most Ijesha it has been a means to other desired and fairly universal ends of a kind that the Action Group's slogan summarizes well: Life more Abundant . . . olaju is at bottom a technical rather than a moral notion . . . Social concepts of this kind cannot have a distinct history of their own--as a religion, a natural science or possibly, an aesthetic idiom may have--but must be seen as an aspect of the history of their society.[98]

A fresh dimension of fieldwork, an effort focussed on African experience, informed this study. A far more self-possessed and resilient, if still "underdeveloped" community emerged from Peel's reading of the Ijesha through the prism of olaju than were found in the analyses of education and development surveyed earlier. A traditional knowledge that had been internally hoarded gave way as a new system, though ultimately derived from and controlled abroad, was adapted and circulated. The Ijesha, far from being trapped by

their own or some external matrix of ideology or policy, have proved capable of sustaining their own educational dynamic which is adaptive and constructive within limits not schematically determined.

These angles to Peel's analysis were a product of his distinctive epistemology. His scrutiny was closely focussed on the structure of local language, therefore of community, but the result was anything but minimalist. Rather than working through categories which imposed on or mediated his data, Peel abandoned some heavily used and certainly useful dichotomies in Africanist literature--what is indigenous and foreign, African and Western, peripheral and metropolitan--in order to make sense out of what has made sense to the Ijesha. Thus, for instance, the restricted, esoteric character of the specialist range of traditional knowledge was found to be measurable as a public commodity, just like the alien character of the European school, and the chiefs were found to be responsive to the flexible creed of olaju, just like the commoners.

Rather than treating education as some deus ex machina, Peel's study made it an independent variable, something to frame to communal specifications though hardly to master. Within such a framework, reliance on a process of practical wisdom working toward "development" becomes imaginable for policymakers and for those whom policy affects, alongside the more problematic search of the heavens for transformational policy or an act of theoretical metamorphosis. Such emphasis accorded African experience as a basis for understanding and fostering education and development recalls practitioner-politicians like Awokoya, and aligns Peel's interest with their most

urgent priorities.[99]

Perhaps education and development, if they are perceived as operational processes which African experience at once utilizes, enriches and modifies, are not so mutually exclusive or counterproductively linked as the more deterministic scholarship and the recent disappointments would have it.

5. Conclusion

It has been the major concern of this analysis to bring attention to Awokoya's stature on grounds far wider than UPE and to place his work and legacy in the setting of a fundamental debate about education and development in Africa. The account of his departure from Western Region affairs in 1956 awaits clarification of some tangled politics, but his career as an educational policymaker quickly resumed, as senior advisor to Nigerian federal administrations just before and for some years after independence in 1960, then as a senior UNESCO official for science and technology well into the 1970s. Such appointments endorsed the vision which his Western Region efforts of the 1950s demonstrated. It was entirely fitting that his final public appointment was as Research Professor in the University of Ife's Faculty of Education. Though a successor in office built this capstone institution, Awokoya's policy animated Ife's character. Its distinctly indigenous style and substance of operation reflect what may in fact be Awokoya's most enduring contribution to those who seek more fortunate conjunctions of vision and reality in African education and development. Awokoya was in every sense an original in that search.

FOOTNOTES

Research for this study took place at UCLA and the University of Ife, 1984-1985. I am grateful for the hospitality and advice accorded, particularly by Michael Lofchie and Richard Sklar at UCLA and by Adeniji Adaralegbe, M. O. Afolabi, Akinsola Akiwowo, Omotoso Eluyemi and Kola Junaid at Ife.

[1]On this last point, see Section 3 below, pp. 35-38.

[2]General background for details below, where not cited, derive principally from R. Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963) and D. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969). The term "Western Region," not "Yoruba," is used where, as in most cases, the geopolitical jurisdiction rather than the dominant (though not exclusive) culture group is the reference point for the policy, and politics, under review; the Western Region of 1952 has undergone three realignments since 1960, but the original sense the term conveyed remains serviceable for present purposes. The author had the pleasure and benefit of a lengthy interview with Chief Awokoya February 28, 1985, two weeks before his death at the age of 71, and uses material from that occasion where cited below.

[3]B. Timothy, Kwame Nkrumah: His Rise to Power (London: Allen & Unwin, 1955), pp. 121-126, 132; K. Nkrumah, Ghana: An Autobiogra-

phy (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1957), ch. 14. Awokoya acknowledged the value of his 1951 Gold Coast travels a year later when introducing his policy in Ibadan, referring to "its head start in progressive educational development. Belatedly, we may catch up with them." Western Region. House of Assembly. Debates. First Session. July 30, 1952, p. 462; hereafter cited Debates.

[4]Gold Coast. Department of Education. Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1951 (Accra: Government Printing Department, 1951).

[5]Ibid., Foreword.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]These terms of reference for Gold Coast politics under early CPP guidance are drawn from D. Apter, Ghana in Transition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 202-208, 215-216, and D. Austin, Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 162-176.

[9]Gold Coast, p. 1.

[10]Ibid., p. 3.

[11]See Gold Coast, p. 4 for modifications; Timothy, p. 132 for the associate's criticism; P. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 185 for the specialist's commentary, restated in broader terms, p. 299, and reinforced in Apter, p. 295, n. 3.

[12]G. Olusanya, The West African Student Union, (Ibadan: Macmillan, 1982) provides background on Awokoya's West African student peers in Great Britain, though little on Awokoya himself.

Awokoya's interview account of these years emphasized the aspiration of Yaba students to prove the superiority of their preparation over both African and British counterparts and revealed his own general and specialized training in the sciences (as well as a nearly total recall of its details). An obituary tribute from a past president of the Nigerian Medical Association, previously Awokoya's student at St. Andrew's, called him "one of the most intelligent teachers Nigeria has ever produced"; Nigerian Tribune, March 19, 1985, p. 1.

[13]Debates, pp. 27-65.

[14]Ibid., p. 57.

[15]Proposals for an Education Policy for the Western Region, Nigeria. By the Minister for Education, Western Region (Ibadan, July, 1952); hereafter cited Proposals. Authorship is disputed; to what extent both policy and text were collective efforts may never be determined. Awokoya when interviewed claimed the text as his own, prepared and delivered to the House of Assembly and printed under great pressure, following a long, collaborative Action Group policy debate. Abernethy, p. 138, recounted the debate and saw fit to distinguish between "the Action Group's 1951 policy paper on education and the 1952 Awokoya proposals," while including Awokoya alongside four others as "principal architects" of Western Region education at the time. One of those five, Michael Ajasin, has recently been credited by Awolowo himself as the originator, with Awokoya's role ignored; see the 25th anniversary commemorative brochure for UPE: Ondo State of Nigeria. Twenty-Five Years of Free Universal Primary Education (February, 1980), p. 15. Ajasin clearly had a role in policy making, but Awolowo may have reasons to

minimize Awokoya's contributions. Abernethy noted, p. 159, competition between them for popular acclaim (which of the two <u>really</u> created the 'Awo' schools which opened in 1955?) and, pp. 145-146, their policy dispute on the issue of whether UPE should be compulsory (as Awokoya maintained, against Awolowo) as well as free. Sklar detailed, pp. 104, 264-5, 276-7, Ajasin's notable work as both Action Group organizer and Awolowo loyalist, and Awokoya's penchant for the maverick's role. Awokoya's tenures as Minister, House of Assembly and Action Group member came to abrupt terminations in early 1956 and he opposed the party in the next regional election (and lost his deposit). The reasons for this break remain shadowy; Awokoya was never again a regional force though his career flourished at the national and international levels (see Conclusion below). Ajasin was in prison early in 1985 following his term as Premier of Ondo State (though he was later released) and was not available as an interview source on these issues. Faculty members at Ife familiar with Action Group history tend to corroborate Awokoya's version (impartiality from that direction must not be taken for granted, either). The author's view is that Awokoya's claim as prime source and author of policy is very strong, and this paper assumes that position.

[16]Abernethy, p. 135, for the term "welfare politics," pp. 135-136, for his definition of the phrase, that "political parties . . . discovered that they can win votes most readily by promising to provide amenities for the people . . . A primary school" was the easiest promise to make and fulfill. See below, pp. 43-46, for extended discussion of Abernethy, who virtually ignored the

Proposal's 5000 word introduction which is the core of this analysis, reproducing no more than eight lines in his text, pp. 127-131.

[17]Proposals, p. 5.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., p. 6.

[20]For Awokoya's remarks to the House, see Debates, First Session, p. 464: "Through missionary activities and Government assistance we have trained a generation of pen pushers and interpreters." Abernethy, pp. 97-101, reviewed substantial colonial government efforts, especially through Sir Sidney Phillipson, beginning in 1947 and including the creation of University College, Ibadan, to augment the region's education services, though the material above from Main demonstrates their limits. Awokoya did acknowledge, Proposals, p. 8, the "foresight and wisdom" of the colonial policy establishing Local Education boards.

[21]Proposals, p. 7.

[22]Ibid., p. 8.

[23]Ibid., p. 9.

[24]Ibid., p. 10.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[27]Ibid., p. 24; Debates, First Session, p. 465.

[28]Proposals, pp. 10-11.

[29]Ibid., p. 11, drawing on Main's text cited above, n. 13.

[30]Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[31]Ibid., pp. 13-14. Awokoya embellished this part of the text

when addressing the House. Debates, First Session, p. 467, on future prospects: "It will be a joy to have a college of arts, music and drama in which our native music can be harmonised and enriched." The literature on the tensions implicit in the situation of European trained advocates of Africanist curriculum among the policy-making elites of the independence generation clearly applies to Awokoya.

[32]Proposals, p. 8.

[33]Ibid., pp. 14-15, 24-25. An opposition member in the House, July 30, pointed out the U.S.S.R's claim of progress, from 3% to 98% literacy since 1917, on the basis of such a program; Debates, First Session, p. 473.

[34]Western Region of Nigeria. Adult Education Organizer's Course, Prepared for the Regional Adult Education Offices (Ibadan, 1956), pp. 1-4, 10, 14, 18, 22-23.

[35]Proposals, pp. 23, 27.

[36]Ibid., p. 14.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., p. 32.

[39]Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[40]B. Rhodes, "The Genesis of the 1959 Ashby Commission Report on Education in Nigeria," (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1973) is the source for this paragraph.

[41]Ibid., p. 159.

[42]Ibid., pp. 166-168.

[43]Ibid., p. 184, n. 7, for the quotation from Onabamiro. The Ashby Report, i.e., Investment in Education: The Report of the

Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria (1960), p. 48, contains Onabamiro's demurrer and reservations in detail.

[44]Western Nigeria. White Paper on the Establishment of a University in Western Nigeria (Sessional Paper No. 12 of 1960). Onabamiro, three years Awokoya's junior, died a month before Awokoya, on February 11, 1985. His career, perhaps better known in its political dimension, was equally controversial. There are fascinating parallels and areas of dispute between them, awaiting detailed coverage not undertaken here but suggested, for instance, by Onabamiro's article "Down With Language Nationalism," Daily Times, October 17, 1970. Credited with two species discoveries, Onabamiro was more the scientific research scholar than Awokoya, a factor which helps account for some differences discussed below. His autobiographical Glimpses into Nigerian History (Ibadan: Macmillan, 1983) is less helpful than one might wish on issues discussed here.

[45]Report of the Commission on the Proposal for a University in Western Nigeria (n.d.). Reference to this committee was made, Debates, Tenth Session (1961), pp. 50ff.

[46]Proposals, pp. 27-28.

[47]Report cited n. 45, pp. 3-4, 6, 26, 33.

[48]Ibid., pp. 7-8, 22, 26-31, 34-35.

[49]Western Region of Nigeria. Western Region Development Plan, 1962-1968 (Sessional Paper No. 8 of 1962), p. 41. It would exceed the scope of this paper to measure and evaluate to what extent promise and performance at Ife have coincided. A lively sense of

the issues discussed in its formative stages was conveyed in Debates, Tenth Session, pp. 50-60, and Eleventh Session, pp. 73-75, for 1961 and 1962 respectively. For a more skeptical view of the university's foundation, stressing the political bargaining at its inception and a narrower "regional and ethnic" function than is suggested here, see R. Koehl, "The Uses of the University: Past and Present in Nigeria's Educational Culture," (Part II), Comparative Education Review, 15, 3 (October, 1971), esp. p. 375. An Ife evaluation report in 1974 criticized scanty support for the humanities area and African Studies, praised the education faculty, and recommended scientific education for agricultural and industrial needs--more support for the applied sciences generally--as the next decade's priority; Western State of Nigeria. Report of the Visitation Panel to the University of Ife (1974), pp. 3, 12, 28, 77.

[50]Its findings were issued as Government of Western Nigeria. Ministry of Education. Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Educational System of Western Nigeria (1951); hereafter cited Banjo.

[51]S. Banjo, "The Teaching of Yoruba in the Secondary Schools of Nigeria," Nigeria Magazine, 13 (March, 1938), pp. 59-69. The British editors of this colonial government journal were at the time soliciting such points of view on indigenous cultural initiative; see M. Crowder, "The Outsider and African Culture: The Case of E. H. Duckworth and Nigeria Magazine," in R. July and P. Benson (eds.), African Cultural and Intellectual Leaders and the Development of the New African Nations (New York: Ibadan University Press, 1982), pp. 88-90.

[52]Debates, First Session, pp. 481-482.

[53]Banjo, p. 1.

[54]Ibid., p. 17.

[55]Ibid., p. 19; emphasis is added.

[56]Ibid., p. 40.

[57]Ibid., pp. 37-38.

[58]Ibid., pp. 38, 84.

[59]Western State of Nigeria. Ministry of Education. Report of the Committee on the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria (1968).

[60] Ibid., pp. 2, 5; the latter quotation very likely reflected Ogunsheye's views, judging by Sklar, pp. 81, 270, 406, and Ogunsheye's own published, characteristically class-oriented writings.

[61]Ibid., p. 6.

[62]Ibid., p. 12.

[63]Ibid.

[64]A. Fafunwa, "Education in the Mother Tongue: A Nigerian Experiment," Journal of African Studies, 1, 3 (Fall, 1974), pp. 286-287.

[65]A. Bamgose, "Mother-tongue medium and scholastic attainment in Nigeria," Prospects, XIV, 1 (1984), pp. 87-93; R. Fakuade, "The Controversy about Mathematical Education in Nigeria," West African Journal of Education, XXI, 2 (June, 1980), pp. 29-41. The Project's own staff evaluations, recently edited by its current director, A. Ojerinde, give detailed information, and I am grateful for the access to them which he provided. There have been other

indigenization initiatives by Western Region schools. Tai Solarin's at Mayflower are the best known; less publicized was Babatunde Lawrence's experimentation in the 1960s at Gaskiya College, stressing all three major Nigerian languages used for cultural as well as pedagogical bases to the curriculum. See Federal Republic of Nigeria. Report of the National Curriculum Conference, 8th-12th September, 1969 (1970), pp. 60-79.

[66]Federal Republic of Nigeria. Implementation Committee for the National Policy on Education: Blueprint (1978), p. 47.

[67]Ibid., p. 48. It is interesting to note the 1985 reintroduction of primary school fees, thirty years after their abolition, even in the original Western Region heartland, Oyo State, yielding N2,000,000 in revenue until once again rescinded in mid-year; West Africa, 1 July 1985, p. 1343.

[68]Blueprint, pp. 49-50. Foster long ago cautioned against the assumption that educated Ghanaian youngsters found farming a distasteful prospect; both Foster and, more recently, Yoloye for the Yoruba can be cited for evidence that technical and vocational skill preparation is viewed positively by youths scanning the employment market (in Yoloye's case, the argument covers those who do shun agriculture but differentiate farming from other practical skills, an important point given current "School to Land" initiatives surfacing in Nigeria and elsewhere). See Foster, pp. 266, 271, 288; E. Yoloye, "Personality, Education and Society: A Yoruba Perspective," International Journal of Educational Development, 3, 1 (1983), pp. 97-104.

[69]Blueprint, p. 50. Nigeria's economic planners nave

registered their skepticism about UPE for a decade. The Third National Development Plan of 1975 referred to "the unsuccessful early experimentation . . . in some parts of the country," and that of 1981 stated: "The massive expansion of education at all levels during the Third Plan period has produced mixed results . . ." See, respectively, Federal Republic of Nigeria. Federal Ministry of Economic Development. Central Planning Office. Third National Development Plan, 1975-1980, Vol. I, p. 237, and Federal Republic of Nigeria. Federal Ministry of National Planning. Fourth National Development Plan, 1981-1985, Vol. I, p. 255.

[70]These remarks were reproduced in an obituary notice for Onabamiro: National Concord, February 19, 1985, p. 5. The same source noted that Onabamiro understood the dimensions of UPE in the following terms: "Historians of the future may not be far wrong to divide this epoch of Nigerian history into pre-UPE and post-UPE." The UPN education platform was substantially duplicated by the National Party of Nigeria, and its victory led toward the effort to implement the policy Onabamiro decried. There was and still remains popular force behind the idea, but austerity has halted this momentum.

[71]The survey purposely avoids the accumulation of UNESCO and similarly sponsored documentation since the Addis Ababa conference on education in 1961, which the author plans to deal with separately.

[72]First cited above, n. 11 and n. 2 respectively. There is a useful commentary on their approach in J. Coleman and C. Halisi, "American Political Science and Tropical Africa: universalism vs.

relativism," African Studies Review, 26, 3/4 (1983), p. 45.

[73]Foster, pp. 179-183.

[74]Ibid., p. 185, for the direct quotation.

[75]Ibid., pp. 163-171, 183-195, 213.

[76]Abernethy, pp. 135-138, 214, 225, 243, 247, 269-270, 323 n. 21.

[77]Ibid., pp. 275, 280.

[78]Ibid., pp. 280-282.

[79]Ibid., pp. 259, 277.

[80]A. Moumouni, "The Return to National Languages and Cultures," Prospects, 5, 1 (Spring, 1975), pp. 63-70; S. Amin, "What Education for What Development?" Ibid., pp. 48-52.

[81]A. Moumouni, Education in Africa (New York: Praeger, 1968; translated from the original French text, L'Education en Afrique, 1964).

[82]Moumouni, "The Return . . .", pp. 64-65.

[83]Moumouni, Education . . ., pp. 273-292. G. Kelly, "The Presentation of Indigenous Society in the Schools of French West Africa and Indochina, 1918 to 1938," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 26, 3 (July, 1984), pp. 523-542, summarized the French schooling in West Africa, confirming the exclusive French language medium of instruction and pointing out the tendency to present material so as either to pool Africans "as an undifferentiated black whole" or to isolate them as locally "particularistic to the extreme." (pp. 523, 529).

[84]Moumouni, "The Return . . .", pp. 66, 69-70. The rapidly developing literature on language policy in Africa has implications

for this paper, which will be pursued elsewhere.

[85]Ibid., p. 70. Moumouni, Education . . ., p. 274, included attention to the city/countryside disparity and the class base of exploitation of peasants in schools, issues not touched on in the 1975 article.

[86]The alternatives in Tanzania, Mali and other nations have stimulated a considerable debate and scholarship, not covered here.

[87]S. Amin, "The New International Economic Order and the Problems of Education," in B. Sanyal (ed.), Higher Education and the New International Order (Paris: UNESCO, 1982), pp. 145-158. The work of Blaug and Carnoy should be mentioned as keys to any more thorough treatment of Amin's perspective than is offered here.

[88]Amin, "What education . . .?," pp. 48-50.

[89]Ibid., p. 50.

[90]Ibid., p. 51.

[91]Ibid., pp. 51-52. The 1982 article pronounced the educational efforts connected with the New International Economic Order ineffective. The conclusion, p. 158, read: "The NIEO does not mean self-reliant development . . . At best . . . it represents no more than a phase in the struggle to simultaneously transform national societies and the world order."

[92]J. Peel, "Olaju: a Yoruba concept of development," Journal of Development Studies, 14, 2 (1978), pp. 135-165; J. Peel, Ijeshas and Nigerians (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[93]Peel, "Olaju . . .," pp. 139-140.

[94]Ibid., p. 144.

[95]Ibid., pp. 145-147, 150.

[96]Ibid., pp. 150-153.

[97]Ibid., pp. 156-158.

[98]Ibid., p. 158.

[99]Yoloye, Personality, cited above, n. 68 is an example of scholarship which utilizes Yoruba language as a guide to more productive policy formulation. A rapidly growing Yoruba studies focus, particularly at the University of Ife, promises positive application of indigenous knowledge to practical affairs. Ife's current Vice-Chancellor, W. Abimbola, a senior social scientist, A. Akiwowo, and an Ibadan educator and Yoruba language scholar, T. Awoniyi, are among the major contributors.